中国1945

A riveting account of the watershed moment in America's dealings with China that forever altered the course of East-West relations.

Mao's Revolution and America's Fateful Choice

INA1945

〔美〕理查德·伯恩斯坦 著 季大方 译

中国革命与美国的抉择

Richard Bernstein

Elegant and compelling….This thoughtful book moves decisively beyond sterile old debates to demonstrate that in the end, China's fate in 1945 was for the Chinese people, and not Americans, to decide.—*Foreign Affairs*

Stimulating….A timely analysis that sheds light on the realities of American engagement in Asia.—*Publishers Weekly*

If you read only one book on this crucial period, Mr. Bernstein's work should be it.—*The Washington Times*

Extensively researched….[Bernstein's] findings about the limits of US influence in China are relevant to more recent American interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan.—*The Christian Science Monitor*

社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

理查德·伯恩斯坦（Richard Bernstein）

现居于纽约，记者、文化批评家和评论员，曾为《时代》杂志和《纽约时报》驻亚洲和欧洲的通讯记者，并且也是《时代》杂志北京办事处第一位主任。他撰写了很多有关中国与亚洲的书，如《即将到来的美中冲突》（***The Coming Conflict with China***，合著），《终极之旅》（***Ultimate Journey***，《纽约时报》年度好书），《走出忧伤》（***Out of the Blue***，《波士顿环球报》2002 年度好书）等。

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如果你只愿意读一本有关这个关键时期的书，那么就读伯恩斯坦先生的这本著作吧。

——《华盛顿时报》

非常优秀……伯恩斯坦如学者一般在此书中涵盖了中国1945年的政治背景，但仍以新闻记者的视角去看待人间万象。

——《纽约时报书评》

行文洗练且令人信服……这本富有思想的书超越了枯燥的、陈旧的争执，明确无误地表明：中国在1945年的命运最终应该由中国人而绝不是美国人来决定。

——《外交事务》

构思巧妙……伯恩斯坦先生详实地叙述了在多大程度上共产党领导人拉拢并误导了美国人……这种对中国人之观点的重视使得伯恩斯坦先生的书完全不同于先前最著名的先导之作，芭芭拉·W.塔奇曼在1971年出版的《史迪威与美国在中国的经验，1911～1945》。

——《华尔街日报》

研究广泛……（伯恩斯坦）有关美国在中国的影响力有限的研究结果是与美国最近在伊拉克和阿富汗的干涉行为有着内在联系的。

——《基督教科学箴言报》

对一个不确定的时期的引人入胜且有时是令人痛心的叙述……同样也尖锐地指向了今天的全球性难题。

——《里士满时讯报》

非常刺激……此书所做的及时到位的分析有助于我们更清晰地了解美国参与亚洲事务的现实。

——《出版人周刊》

可读性极强……所做的细致入微的事后评价，熟练地探讨了未被采纳的道路的历史衍生物。

——《科克斯书评》

一本以敏锐和优雅笔触撰写的内容丰富、引人入胜的著作。对于那些有兴趣去了解中国在20世纪中叶如何成为共产主义国家的人而言，此书非常值得一读。

——大卫·西布利（David Sibley），《军事史季刊》

理查德·伯恩斯坦的《中国1945》是一本名实相符、不可多得的好书。作者远远不止陈述了这关键一年的史实，更是让人颇受教益且也令人信服地剖析了驱使中国和美国分裂并造就了今天的世界的人物和势力。

——傅好文（Howard French），《中国的第二块大陆》作者

目前美国与中国在东亚主导角色上的竞争，根源可追溯到1945年时的那段复杂历史。理查德·伯恩斯坦对二战期间和之后美中两国关系所做的引人瞩目并令人激动的深入研究，为那个时代的悲剧事件和多彩个性增添了熠熠发光的新鲜见解。对于非专业的读者而言，这是一本历史著作的典范，它唯一的缺点是，一旦开始阅读就几乎令人无法释手。

——史蒂芬·I.莱文（Steven I. Levine）

1945年的戏剧性事件在继续影响着美国与中国的关系。当我们重温危机不断的这一年中的历史事件时，毛泽东、周恩来、史迪威、马歇尔——这些伟人和其他一些叱咤风云的人物栩栩如生地出现在此书的页面上，他们不得不就这些事件做出重大抉择。本书深入浅出地分析了中国的威权主义的根源，中美两国之间互不信任的起因，以及历史的难解性。

——黎安友（Andrew J. Nathan）

1945年年初，美国是有机会来构建与毛泽东和中国共产党之间的良好关系的。理查德·伯恩斯坦就所发生的事讲述了一个引人入胜的重要故事，并为创造性的外交提供了重要的经验教训。在处理与中国以及与世界各地的关系上，这个教训依然是十分中肯的。

——沃尔特·艾萨克森（Walter Isaacson），《史蒂夫·乔布斯传》作者

研究深入，文笔优美，论点鲜明有力，《中国1945》重新审视了一个决定性的时期。在此期间，罗斯福的决策失误伴随着斯大林的地

缘政治野心和毛泽东的意识形态倾向，将冷战的命运封闭在亚洲达四分之一个世纪之久，也使得中美之间对抗的后果一直持续到今天。这项有启发性的、发人深省的研究非常值得所有美国的决策者和中国事务观察家阅读。

——沈大伟（David Shambaugh）

当美国和中国正在探索大国关系的“新模式”时，理查德·伯恩斯坦的这本激动人心、内容详实的著作为更好地理解导致了今天的挑战的那个时代，提供了必要的诠释。《中国1945》使我们比以往任何时候都更清晰地意识到美国卷入东亚事务的令人憎恶的复杂性，历史的重要性，以及那些制定重大决策的人物的有限的视野。

——杰罗姆·A.科恩（Jerome A. Cohen）

在这本研究深入透彻、行文清晰明了的书中，理查德·伯恩斯坦描述了历史转折点上的一个分水岭：1945年。在这一年中，如万花筒般瞬息万变的中国政治和该国与美国以及整个世界之间反复无常的关系不可逆转地改变了。《中国1945》以富有感染力的笔触生动地描述了一系列多姿多彩的人物，他们为此后半个世纪的游戏制定了规则。

——奥威尔·谢尔（Orville Schell），亚洲协会美中关系中心主任

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[illegible]Chiang Kai-shek[illegible]Jiang Jieshi[illegible]Chiang Kai-shek[illegible]Canton[illegible]Guangzhou[illegible]Chungking[illegible]Chongqing[illegible]

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[1] *New York Times*，Dec.14 and 17，2013.

[2] *Global Times*，Dec.21，2013.

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[illegible]1941[illegible]

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这是一个漫长而炎热的登山日子，这天一开始，美国飞机就在顶峰上空盘旋：大炮发射出的三颗烟幕弹形成的图案，标示出了山顶日军的位置，接着美军轰炸机不断追踪轰炸，凝固汽油弹、杀伤弹、重磅炸弹一个接一个落下来。[6]

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[2] Donovan Webster□*The Burma Road□The Epic Story of the China-Burma-India Theater in World War II* □New York□Farrar□Straus and Giroux□2003□□p.45.

[3] Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland□*The United States Army in World War II□Stilwell's Command Problems* □Washington□DC□Office of the Chief of Military History□Department of the Army□1956□□p.34.

[4] Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland□*The United States Army in World War II□Stilwell's Command Problems* □Washington□DC□Office of the Chief of Military History□Department of the Army□1956□□pp.340-49.

[5] Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland□*The United States Army in World War II□Stilwell's Command Problems* □Washington□DC□Office of the Chief of Military History□Department of the Army□1956□□p.346.

[6] Theodore H. White□ *In Search of History□A Personal Adventure* □New York□Harper and Row□1978□□p.222.

[7] Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sutherland，*United States Army in World War II：Time Runs Out in CBI* （Washington，D.C.：Office of the Chief of Military History，Department of the Army，1959），p.370.

[8] Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sutherland，*United States Army in World War II：Time Runs Out in CBI* （Washington，D.C.：Office of the Chief of Military History，Department of the Army，1959），p.135.

[9] *New York Times*，Jan. 4，1945.

[10] *New York Times*，Jan. 24，1945.

[11] Webster，Donovan. *The Burma Road：The Epic Story of the China-Burma-India Theater in World War Ⅱ.* New York：Farrar，Straus and Giroux. 2003，p.60.

[12] *New York Times*，Feb. 9，1945.

[13] Romanus，Charles F.，and Riley Sutherland. *United States Army in World War Ⅱ：Time Runs Out in CBI.* Washington，DC：Office of the Chief of Military History，Department of the Army，1959，p.332.

[14] William Jones，"Correspondence Sheds Light on FDR Post-War Vision，" *Executive Intelligence Review*，July 6，2007.

[15] Cornelius Ryan□*The Last Battle□The Classic Battle for Berlin* □New York□Simon & Schuster□1966□□p.162.

[16] David D. Barrett□*Dixie Mission□The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan□1944* □Berkeley□Center for Chinese Studies□University of California□1970□□p.73.

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> 他就在那里，蒋介石，带着坚忍不拔、矢志不渝的决心指挥着战争，克服软弱和怯懦，绝不屈服于武力。我们变坚强了，我们放心了。……这个决心唤醒了全国民众，鼓舞着中国摆脱麻木不仁，让它意识到过去的辉煌及未来的尊严和伟大。一个人，但并不是孤独的一个人。对我们所有人而言，这是一种精神力量，一种象征，一种激励。[16]

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[illegible]1937[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18][illegible]

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[illegible]1937[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1931[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[2] [illegible]1937[illegible]

[illegible]1941[illegible]12[illegible]7[illegible]1940[illegible]1944[illegible]1931[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]100[illegible][3]

[illegible]1937[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[4] [illegible]·[illegible]

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1941□5□16□□□□□110□□□□□□□□□□700□□□□□□□

往西去的道路挤满了人，或徒步，或坐着架子车、黄包车、独轮车和汽车，缓缓地逃离洛阳。道路两侧树木上方，人流经过时扬起的灰尘如条条长蛇连绵不断，从烟火笼罩的城镇一路延续到远方群山的边缘。路边田野上，人们的喊叫声、哭号声和咒骂声融汇成一道低沉

的、颤抖的、连续的声响，就像一头遭到致命攻击的野兽，在鲜血直喷时发出哀号。[9]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[10][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][11][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[12][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]John Dower[illegible]1937[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1941[illegible]

[illegible]1938[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[15]

[illegible]1930[illegible]1937[illegible]1938[illegible]3[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible][16][illegible]

[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible][17]

[illegible]·[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]55[illegible]"[18][illegible]

[illegible]1937[illegible]

[illegible]1938[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][19][illegible]·[illegible]Yale-in-China hospital[illegible]

10[illegible]10[illegible]26[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]30[illegible]70[illegible]"[illegible]"[20][illegible]

[illegible]

11[illegible]9[illegible][21][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22] 11[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]SS Sandpiper[illegible]“[illegible]”[23][illegible]“[illegible]”[24]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26][illegible]2[illegible]2.1[illegible][27][illegible]1[illegible]55[illegible]13[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[29]

[illegible]1939[illegible]1941[illegible]1942[illegible]1944[illegible]1942[illegible]

[illegible]5.2[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]2000[illegible]3000[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30][illegible]“[illegible]”1940[illegible]·[illegible]Martha Gellhorn[illegible]

降临在一个人身上的运气，再也没有比出生和生活在那里更差的了，除非靠某种黄金般的机会，你碰巧出生在拥有权力、金钱、特权的家庭（即便如此，也世事难料），而这种可能性仅是千万分之一。我同情他们，在他们身上我看不到可容忍的未来，我渴望尽快逃离，

从我所陷入的这一切：长年累月的苦难、污秽、绝望和我自己的幽闭恐惧症，就在这个巨大的国家里。[31]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][32]

[illegible]30[illegible][33][illegible]1949[illegible]40.1[illegible][34]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]R.H.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

在中国的大片土地上，乡村人口苦难深重，人身和财产得不到保障。他们要向一个个称王称霸的地痞流氓纳税进贡，好不容易把他们全都打发了，却还要向政府缴纳苛捐杂税……他们被贪官污吏敲诈勒

索。他们被刺刀顶着去收割庄稼，然后被迫无偿转交给当地驻军，尽管没有这些粮食他们会被饿死。他们被迫无视法律去种植鸦片，因为除了吸食鸦片的鸦片馆之外，军阀们可以从鸦片上榨取比大米或小麦更重的税收，并由此赚钱。他们还被附近的职业土匪敲诈勒索；如果抗拒，那么一年后，当土匪们采取一致行动时，就会把他们的村庄夷为平地。[35]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[37]

[illegible]1941[illegible]1943[illegible]1942[illegible]1943[illegible]300[illegible]300[illegible]1943[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]17[illegible]”[38][illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[39]

[illegible]150[illegible]1940[illegible]·[illegible]Tam Shui Ko[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[40][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

1938[illegible][41][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1[illegible]80[illegible]1945[illegible]500[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[42][illegible]

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□□□“‘□□□□□□□□□□’□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□ [44]

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> 这是一片多么凄凉可怕的情景呀，房屋倒塌了，屋顶瓦片散落在道路旁，噼啪作响的电线扯落在地，使得走路也难以迈开步子。这里那里到处都是从飞机上扔下的炸弹炸出的坑。奇怪的是，只有矗立在市中心的高耸的佛塔毫发无损地幸存了下来。几乎一个人影都看不到。偶尔，我们所能看到的是一个步履蹒跚的老人从一个坍塌的茅屋里爬出来，然后又爬回去。城墙内三分之一的房子已不幸被摧毁。我们感觉自己身处一座死亡之城，在这个神秘无声的世界中，唯一的声响是我们自己的脚步声。[48]

[illegible]18.7[illegible]30[illegible][49][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50]

[illegible]1937[illegible]1938[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]80%[illegible][51][illegible]78%[illegible]

□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1938□5□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□200□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□670□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□“□□670□□□□5□□□□□□□□”[52]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2□□□□□□□□7□□1□85□□□□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[53]

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挤满了中国人：穿着黑色或褪色的蓝色棉布衣服的男人，缠了小脚的几个女人步履蹒跚，黑衣黑裤的农妇头发编了辫子垂在背后，孩子们夹在人流之中……一些管道被击中了，污水遍地，从破裂水管中流出的水使得行人要在街上□水而过。那些破烂的房子突然间裂了开来，长时间储存的污垢和异味全都释放了出来。几乎没有可呼吸的空气，那些现在还侧向倚靠在不稳定的横梁或者靠一堵坚实的墙支撑着而未倒的房子，随时都可能像雪崩似的倾倒在拥挤的街道上……在所有沿街的一面，靠着烛光和煤油灯光，人们在不停挖掘着，努力恢复他们自己那被炸毁的家园，他们用钉子把断裂的木板拼接起来，有的像是房顶，有的像是墙壁，搭成了能住人的棚子。只有在晚上才能干点活。第二天日本人又会来轰炸。[54]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

* * *

[illegible]1938[illegible]

[illegible]1942[illegible]12[illegible]5[illegible]1937[illegible]1[illegible][55][illegible]9[illegible]496[illegible]2[illegible]

1940[illegible]1939[illegible]80[illegible][56]

[illegible]1940[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1940[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]7[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]1000[illegible]150[illegible][57][illegible]1940[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]5000[illegible]2.7[illegible][58][illegible]

[illegible]1942[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible]270[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]1938[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][59]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[60]

“[illegible]”[illegible]Chen Cunren[illegible]“[illegible]”[61][illegible]1941[illegible][62][illegible]·[illegible]Dominic Alves[illegible]

[illegible]1938[illegible]“[illegible]”[63][illegible][64][illegible]Pan Sanxing[illegible]200[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]X[illegible][65][illegible]

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[illegible]60[illegible]”[71]

[illegible]1944[illegible]11[illegible]4.25[illegible]“[illegible]”[72]

“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[73] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][74]

[illegible]

[illegible][75] [illegible]1921[illegible]1938[illegible]1[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[76]

[illegible]

[illegible]7000[illegible]7000[illegible]1937[illegible]10[illegible][77][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[78]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

> 一些年轻男人背着行李和他们的家产，另一些人背上驮着老人。有些人怀里抱着孩子，有些人扛着被子，还有的人扶着自己的老母亲或生病的妻子。苦难的悲情在相互之间蔓延——缠着小脚的老妇，躺在大车上满脸皱纹的家族长辈——都在逃离毁灭。[79]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[80][illegible]1938[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Cecil Beaton[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

他靠着劣质大米生存，在一间类似监狱囚室的房间里睡觉和工作，没有人照料他。除了用两本词典撑着一块木板作为一张床，还用一个箱子隔了几层来存放从先前生活中抢救出来的书卷之外，他没有任何家具。按照“节油”运动的要求，油灯必须在夜间尽早熄灭。[81]

[illegible]

生活得像农民那样的，都是些法国文学或欧洲哲学的伟大的专家和学者；那些一直担任科学杂志编辑，或一直是知识界和思想界核心的人士，都被困顿滞留在这里，连买香烟的钱也没有。有些人因烂脚

而无法行走，还有些人因缺乏营养和缺少洗浴而引发疾病。然而，他们却仍然保持着令人惊叹的欢乐，充满着活力。[82]

[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][83][illegible]1941[illegible]1.45[illegible]2600[illegible][84][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][85][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[86]

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[87]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][88]

1944[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1940[illegible]14[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]17[illegible]50[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]1938[illegible]1939[illegible]

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我带着一颗憎恨的心目击了桂林的每一次受难。我看见炸弹怎样毁坏房屋，我看见烧夷弹怎样发火，我看见风怎样助长火势使两三股浓烟合在一起。在月牙山上我看见半个天空的黑烟，火光笼罩了整个桂林城。黑烟中闪动着红光，红的风，红的巨舌。十二月二十九日的大火从下午一直燃烧到深夜。连城门都落下来木柴似地在烧烧。城墙

边不可计数的布匹烧透了，红亮亮地映在我的眼里像一束一束的草纸。那里也许是什么布厂的货栈吧。

……

从以上简单的报告里，你们也可以了解这个城市的受难的情形，从这个城市你们会想到其他许多中国的城市。它们全在受难。不过它们咬紧牙关在受难，它们是不会屈服的。在那些城市的面貌上我看不见一点阴影。在那些地方我过的并不是悲观绝望的日子。甚至在它们的受难中我还看见中国城市的欢笑。中国的城市是炸不怕的。……[89]

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[illegible]l’homme engagé[illegible]1941[illegible]·[illegible] [49] [illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1938[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Pinky[illegible]·[illegible]Freda Utley[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1942[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible][50][illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[51][illegible]

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遭受痛恨的程度逐日增加，这是由于人民害怕军队和税吏的态度；农民的反抗，省级领导对政党的批评，学生（原文如此）对征兵的反抗以及许多中国人不惜一切投奔美国，而且一旦到了美国就再也不想离开，所有这一切都证明了这一点。国民党是腐败的。它口头讲民主，但行动上却独裁。世界上最糟糕的审查制度就在重庆，而且每十个外国人就有一个侦探盯梢……自由派人士的会议会被国民党恶棍侵扰，密探无处不在，以至于人们都不敢说话。[58]

[illegible]1941[illegible]

[illegible]1942[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][59][illegible]·[illegible]

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[illegible]1927[illegible]

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[illegible]1850[illegible]1933[illegible]1935[illegible]1936[illegible]

[illegible]1937[illegible]·[illegible]Randolph Sailor[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[67]

[illegible]1938[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

1940[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[79]

[illegible]
[80] [illegible]1950[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]William Stevenson[illegible]1956[illegible][81] 1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][82]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[83] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[84]

1944[illegible]·[illegible]1920[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1942[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][95]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[96][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1944[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[100][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][101][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][105]

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[illegible]·P.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][108]

[illegible]30[illegible]·[illegible]George Varoff[illegible]B-29[illegible]10[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]7[illegible]1936[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]2.2[illegible]B-29[illegible][109][illegible]·P.[illegible]

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[illegible]11[illegible]B-29[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]William Wood[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]60[illegible]600[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]John Baglio[illegible]“[illegible]”[110]

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[illegible]·S.[illegible]Henry S.Whittlesley[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1945[illegible]

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戴笠主要专注于收集针对中国人和居住在中国沦陷区的外国人的情报。他对日本人的兴趣完全是次要的。他的行动方法与德国盖世太保和苏联秘密警察格别乌（OGPU）非常接近。美国继续维持与他及其组织的关系和联系已经损害了心胸宽大、思想健全的中国人眼中的美国形象，并使之对我们在这场战争中的动机和我们表达的目的的诚意提出了怀疑。[50]

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如果美国公众了解到，我们向一个如戴笠所操控的这样有问题的组织提供大量援助的话，不必解释，这肯定将是最不幸的。梅乐斯在这里充当圣诞老人已经很长时间了。[51]

[illegible]Military Intelligence Division[illegible]“[illegible]”[52]

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e of Naval Intelligence[illegible]ONI[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [57]

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> 根据他的情况，美国希望继续支持蒋介石这个烂壳子，这是它的权利。然而，我们相信，尽管美国能做一切想做的事，蒋介石仍然注定是要失败的……我们不像蒋介石。我们不需要哪个国家来支持我们。我们能够站得笔直，像自由人一样走自己的路。

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“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[77][illegible][78][illegible]

[1] *Honorable Survivor□Mao’s China□McCarthy’s America□and the Persecution of John S. Service* □Annapolis□MD□Naval Institute Press□2009□□p.330.

[2] *Honorable Survivor□Mao’s China□McCarthy’s America□and the Persecution of John S. Service* □Annapolis□MD□Naval Institute Press□2009□□p.331.

[3] Barrett□David D. *Dixie Mission□The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan□1944.* Berkeley□Center for Chinese Studies□University of California□1970□p.57.

[4] John Paton Davies□*China Hand□An Autobiography* □Philadelphia□University of Pennsylvania Press□2012□□p.226.

[5] [illegible]·[illegible]1786[illegible]——[illegible]

[6] *Time*，Jan. 1，1945.

[7] Barrett，David D. *Dixie Mission：The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan，1944.* Berkeley：Center for Chinese Studies，University of California，1970，p.57.

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[10] Arthur R. Ringwalt，"Oral History Interview with Arthur R. Ringwalt，" Truman Memorial Library，online at http：//www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/ringwalt.htm.

[11] Quoted in Kahn，E. J.，Jr. *The China Hands：America's Foreign Service Officers and What Befell Them.* New York：Viking Press，1972，p.136.

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[13] Barrett，David D. *Dixie Mission，The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan，1944.* Berkeley，Center for Chinese Studies，University of California，1970，p.57.

[14] Lohbeck，passim. Russell D. Buhite，*Patrick J. Hurley and American Foreign Policy* （Ithaca，NY，Cornell University Press，1973），passim.

[15] Lohbeck，Don. *Patrick J. Hurley.* Washington，DC，Henry Regnery，1956，p.49.

[16] Lohbeck，Don. *Patrick J. Hurley.* Washington，DC，Henry Regnery，1956，p.148.

[17] Lohbeck，Don. *Patrick J. Hurley.* Washington，DC，Henry Regnery，1956，p.153.

[18] Lohbeck，Don. *Patrick J. Hurley.* Washington，DC，Henry Regnery，1956，p.153.

[19] Lohbeck，Don. *Patrick J. Hurley.* Washington，DC，Henry Regnery，1956，p.153.

[20] *FRUS*，1944，p.201.

[21] *FRUS*，1944，p.199.

[22] *FRUS*，1944，p.159.

[23] *FRUS*，1944，pp.157-58.

[24] *FRUS*，1944，p.287.

[25] *FRUS*，1944，p.159.

[26] Barrett，David D. *Dixie Mission：The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan，1944.* Berkeley：Center for Chinese Studies，University of California，1970，p.60.

[27] Barrett，David D. *Dixie Mission：The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan，1944.* Berkeley：Center for Chinese Studies，University of California，1970，p.60.

[28] Barrett，David D. *Dixie Mission：The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan，1944.* Berkeley：Center for Chinese Studies，University of California，1970，p.60.

[29] Barrett，David D. *Dixie Mission：The United States Army Observer Group in Yenan，1944.* Berkeley：Center for Chinese Studies，University of California，1970，p.61.

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（一）共产党人不是真正意义上的共产党人，他们正在追求民主原则；（二）国民党那一个政党、一个领袖的个人的政府其实并不是法西斯。这是争取民主原则。无论是共产党还是国民党都有很长的路要走，但是，如果我们认识道路，如果我们有清醒的头脑、宽容和耐心，我们是会有所帮助的。[5]

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东方红，

太阳升，

中国出了个毛泽东。

他为人民谋幸福，

他是人民大救星。

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秘密被窃

海军军官和两名杂志

编辑在此被捕

广泛的系列盗窃案

来自陆军、海军和

其他文件的情报被声称用在

《美亚》杂志上

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible] [21]

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[illegible][26][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27][illegible]1944[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[5] Pantsov□Alexander V.□and Steven I. Levine. *Mao□The Real Story*. New York□Simon & Schuster□2012□p.339.

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[illegible]1882[illegible]

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[illegible]20[illegible]1907[illegible]

[illegible]1911[illegible]1914[illegible]

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[illegible]1940[illegible]

1944[illegible][1][illegible]

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[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[3]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[5] [illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]

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延安沸腾了，以延安城为中心的几条辐射形山沟中漫山遍野红旗招展，锣鼓喧天，爆竹齐鸣，人们欢呼雀跃，把衣服帽子抛向天空，卖水果的老乡把筐里的苹果、梨送给近旁不认识的人，不管认不认

识，互相拥抱，拉起手来扭秧歌，当晚，满山遍野都是火的海洋、欢乐的洪流！八年的艰苦抗战，终于胜利了！这种狂欢持续了三天。[8]

[illegible]“8[illegible]”[9] [illegible]8[illegible]10[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[10] [illegible]

[illegible][11] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12] [illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1895[illegible]——[illegible]1915[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1931[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]1927[illegible]1937[illegible]1945[illegible]11[illegible][15][illegible]700[illegible]22[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[16]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”。[17]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[18]

“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[19]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Dong Luoyu[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”。[21]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22] [illegible]1943[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]——[illegible]1941[illegible]“[illegible]”[23] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[24] “[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]John Hart Caughey[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26] [illegible]“[illegible]”[27] [illegible]

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抢劫犯到处都是，三到五人组成武装团伙侵入民舍。在报纸上总是可以看到这样的事件。官员们不会容忍这种情况。紧挨着静安寺路的世界著名的赛马场，现在成了刑场。……本报记者11月22日抵达上海，据我的朋友们所说，前一天，一帮罪犯被处决了。几天后，另一帮罪犯被执行了死刑。在第一帮罪犯中，有一个是原陆军中的连长，宋先生，他的罪行是带了一群人拿着武器到老百姓家里去偷金条。[28]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]9[illegible]100[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2000[illegible][1][illegible]27000[illegible]5500[illegible]3700[illegible]70[illegible]

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9[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[32][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33][illegible]1911[illegible][34]

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[3] [illegible]——[illegible]

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他们高度赞扬我们的军队在取得抗日战争胜利的过程中所做出的贡献，但是，由于苏联政府与国民党政府的关系，他们要求我们不要以八路军的名义展开活动，因此，经仔细研究后，我们决定将我们的部队改名为东北人民自治军（Autonomous Army of the People of the Northeast）。……我们一个接一个地接管了沈阳兵工厂、仓库、军用服装厂、自来水和电力公司、邮局、银行和广播电台。我们还利用广播电台报道了我军进入东北的重要新闻，大力宣传了党的政策，反复播放了“三大纪律八项注意”以及其他革命歌曲。我们还派出部队到其他城镇去。[15]

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> 庄莱德的立场……在当时和后来的美国政府的大多数决策中都是很典型的。某种情况中的力量现实，即使能被理解，也往往会服从于“应该做的”事情，也就是因为先例、承诺、道德冲动、情绪，以及

包容一切的“国家安全”而应该去做的事情。于是，政策的成本因素就这样常常被忽视了。[16]

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> 每个人都在这里急得团团转，不知道在忙些什么……知道这个大人物要亲自来大家都怕得要死……一种高潮后跌到低谷的迹象开始显现出来，我有一种越来越强的感觉，整个这一切都是在压力和恐慌之下凭空想象出来的。这里的许多人现在都后悔了，但除了必须去面对之外，不知道还能做些什么。大多数人都同意，他的就任只会损害他的盛名，而不会有任何好结果。[1]

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暴力迹象越来越多，自从政治协商会议召开以来，每天晚上都有大规模群众集会，公开讨论问题。每次一开会，戴笠的警察就会成群结队地来起哄，并投掷石块，一次比一次多。有关政治犯的话题得到越来越多的特别关注。上周一，政府答应七天后释放全部政治犯，但是有关很多人被杀的传言在四处流传。而在此地肆虐的疟疾，被当作死亡的原因。[7]

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> 美国军队还为中国内战煽动者组织了空军和海军力量。美国为他们提供了大量的飞机、军舰、火箭炮、大炮、坦克、汽油和所有必要的战争物资……再明显不过了，如果没有这样庞大的援助，中国的反动派绝不可能有能力进行大规模的内战。……美国的这种军事干预少不了帝国主义的策划。（国民党反动派）会发现，美国要求中国提供军事基地及在华的政治和经济权利，从而使中国沦为美国的保护国或殖民地，这样的一天迟早会到来。

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[1] Mei Zhi□*F□Hu Feng’s Prison Years*□ed. and trans. Gregor Benton □London□Verso□2013□□p.18.

[2] Mei Zhi□*F□Hu Feng’s Prison Years*□ed. and trans. Gregor Benton □London□Verso□2013□□back cover.

[3] Mao Zedong□“Farewell□Leighton Stuart□” in *Selected Works*□vol.4□online edition□http□//www.marxists.org.

[4] Joseph Alsop□cited in Klehr□Harvey□and Ronald Radosh. *The Amerasia Spy Case□Prelude to McCarthyism.* Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□1996□p.20.

[5] Short□Philip. *Mao□A Life.* New York□Henry Holt□1999□p.421.

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